

# The Cry of Might Makes Right Was Not Raised by the Germans

Harden Attacks Lloyd George, Says Gospel of Might Was Not Proclaimed by Bismarck and That It Is the Right Which Prevails

By MAXIMILIAN HARDEN.

YOU belong, of highest honor, highly unworthy, Mr. Lloyd George, among those enviable gentlemen who never see anything except what their brains wish to see; always only one side of the business that happens to engage them, always the side that suits the wish. When behind such an eye there works a bright, sharp mind there is little wanting to make a good lawyer politician; and if he learns to master the twin arts of eloquence and flattery of the masses no wealth hangs too high for the demagogue's reach.

You can do more. Work something that in your country, where we waked it, not everybody could do, even on the summits of authority, persevere in the midst of the frost and storm of the people's unwilling mood (as an opponent of the Boer war you were in many a meeting the cynosure of howling fury), take that which is necessary but seems indigestible to your countrymen, knead it so thoroughly and sugar it so carefully that it tastes to everybody like plum pudding—these things you can do.

I do not see you at the London dinner parties, where all wear masks, say what they don't believe, eat what is not good for them and on the way home tell evil things of one another.

Your strong point is that you—as, according to Mirabeau's judgment Robespierre did—believe everything you say. Almost everything; at least at the moment in which it flows from your lips.

Your thoughts run in lawyer arguments. War time is your real element; in such times men of your stuff bloom and develop. To them the political history of the world is glaring melodrama, in which angelic, perfect goodness and purity struggle against the crafty trickery of hell.

You, Right Honorable, were, therefore, the man to find the watchword that dms the peculiarity of this war into all heads as your eye must see it. "Mazzini once wrote that a war which was not conducted in defence of a great truth or for the unmasking of a great lie is the most terrible of all crimes. The Allies will not tire in the exertion of all their strength until the lie that 'Might makes right' is buried as deep that it can never rise again."

There you are, German Michel—there you have your fat (any other kind must 't cross the Channel). Why are three emperors, four kings and one rebellious fighting you? Because your lie has been put into the face of civilized mankind. "Might makes right!"

Bismarck said it? Never. In the debate over the address of the House of Deputies, which accused the Prime Minister of a violation of the constitution, he did say this on January 27, 1873:

"The life of a constitution consists, according to the judgment of an experienced statesman, in a series of compromises. When the compromise is illustrated by the instance of one of the parties involved upon enforcing its own view by means of doctrinaire absolutism, then the series is interrupted and compromises are replaced by conflicts, which then become questions of might; he who has might in his hands acts and proceeds in accordance with his own view, because the life of the State cannot stand still over a single moment."

Deputy Count von Scherwin replied: "The speech of the Prime Minister is calculated in the sentence: 'Might makes right,' say what you will, we have the might, and, therefore, we shall carry through our theory. I do not regard this sentence as one which can permanently govern the destiny of Prussia. The greatness of the country and the reverence which the Prussian reigning house enjoys are based rather upon the sentence: 'Right makes might.' 'Justitia fundamētum regnū'—that is the maxim of the Prussian king, and that shall continue to be their maxim."

Bismarck, who was not present in the House while Count von Scherwin spoke, said later: "I am told that the Count understood me to say, 'Might makes right.' I do not recall having made such an utterance." [Lively contradictions.] "In spite of the incredible expressions with which you just received my correction, I appeal to your memory; if it is as clear as daylight will tell you that I counselled a compromise because in the absence of a compromise conflicts arise which become questions of might, and the possessor of might will, because the life of the State cannot stand still, see itself compelled to use it." [Great restlessness in the House.] "I did not designate that as an advantage; I do not say any claim upon an impartial judgment on your part; I desire only to correct in the protocol that which has been misunderstood."

"Again, five years later, Bismarck repeated the correction when Twisted had misinterpreted a passage of his speech. "I do not intend," said he, "that with the aid of the speaker something I said should be made proverbial, as was the case with another sentence which I never uttered, that 'might makes right.'"

"The phrase was written by a much older teacher. Further, in his translation of the little prophet Habakkuk (Not as correctly, methinks, as did the Catholic Alford). I myself, so it has been often asserted, furnished the proof that Germany's guiding principle is the sentence, 'Might makes right.'"

"Who is in the right?" Go to the peach tree and ask: "Who gave you the right to raise your top higher than sweet pines and silver fir, birches and palms could reach?" Summon it before a tribunal presided over by the dwarf pine. List to the rustling of the Crown: "My strength is my right!"

However, wrong prevailing, he who has built the house must also be in a position to protect it. Else his right is de facto imperfect; for the attacker has the first right. True, this conception of right has been theoretically abolished in the political world, but practically it prevails continuously.

"The beasts of prey among the human tribe are the conquering peoples which we see appear everywhere, from the oldest to the newest times, with alternating fortunes, their respective successes and failures throughout furnishing the stuff of world history."

"That they are ashamed of the business is shown by the fact that each Government loudly affirms that it will never seize arms except in self-defence. Instead, however, of embellishing the truth with public official lies, which cause almost more indignation than their action, they should, frankly and bravely, invoke the doctrine of Machiavelli, from which is to be deduced the fact that between nations and in politics the principle holds good, 'Do to others as you would not have done to yourselves.' If you do not wish to be subdued, subdue your neighbor when his weakness offers you the opportunity."

"The Machiavellian principle is for the lust of prey, always a far more decent wrapper than the quite transparent rag of the most palpable lies in presidential speeches."

"In reality every State looks upon its neighbor as upon a horde of robbers which will attack it as soon as the opportunity offers itself. Right in itself is powerless; by nature force rules. To bring force over to the side of right in order that force may help right to rule that is the problem of statesmanship."

Thus speaks Schopenhauer.

After the philosopher, the jurist, says Rudolf von Jhering:

"All right in the world has been won by fight, and every right, the right of a nation as well as that of the individual, maintains itself only through the fact that it has at its disposal the strength necessary for its maintenance. Right is not a logical conception, but a conception of strength. Therefore, justice carries, besides the scale in the one hand, with which she weighs the right, in the other the sword, with which she maintains it."

Two other proponents of justice are no accessories to the "great lie" which your war would bury deep. "We, however, man for man, are accessories to the crime of paralyzing noble morality."

War severs the bonds of all moral duty," Burke said that. Even our armaments, our preparedness, constituted a break of peace."

"The man without arms is a poor guardian of peace; true statesmanship counsel even the peace-loving to arm against a sudden outbreak of a will that strives toward a different direction."

I am quoting Fox. Harsh conduct of war is shameful? "The spirit of peace is futile in war, which, being the extreme measure of force, must not be moderated, negotiations and submission would be preferable to sleep conduct, which wastes blood and money." You will recognize Macaulay.

I have only cited Britons as witnesses here. Will a rough and ready governmental business man of your stuff seriously reproach us for using every weapon within our reach?

Fulton's submarine was not furthered by Pitt because he recognized it as an instrument full of menace to British sea rule. That of the brothers Cochin, which had room and air for nine men, was tested in 1811 and

recommended for adoption by Lazare Carnot. Quickly and cheaply, as wrote the "organizer of victory," France could procure undersea craft.

Nothing came of it. But no one thought of banning this weapon. Large men carrying airships became possible when the powerful electric current enabled the extraction of the light aluminum from clay.

As from the exploding contents of a shell there pour out suffocation producing gases, the idea of using these gases against the enemy suggested itself.

Why thought that we would soon be out of explosive stuffs after we obtained no more saltpeter from Chile. It was a vain hope.

Despite the blockade, which prevents the passage of certain ingredients, the hardest, toughest special steel is secured for us.

Why, David from Manchester, did your chemical industry, which forty years ago seemed unshakable, allow itself to be surprised by ours?

Why is it served by only six scientifically trained men, here we have 200?

Why are not your submarines, your aircraft, your guns, your explosives, your fuses, your spyglasses, your armor plate, your films—why are they not better than ours?

You were sooner, much sooner, forced in a mighty empire than we were, you should have been so far ahead that seven mile boots could not catch up with you.

Had you been so far ahead, then the globe would have heard no lamentations over German atrocities, German barbarism, German cruelty!

But what of the end? Europe is

bleeding to death. We do not want to count today how many men have fallen, how many have been crippled; everywhere those mentally most active are in the front ranks.

The war has probably devoured already 400,000,000 marks, perhaps more. Another year, to years; less devastation, pauperization, which will still bear hard upon our grandchildren, still make itself felt upon their offspring; a dwarfing of economies; retrogression of the morals of life to the forms which in our case widened the foundation of the empire.

America, who lets those hungry for power talk of war, but in fact, does not dream of war at all, will, without any exertion of her own, be raised into world domination. Those who would see how wisely cautious wealth kept house before the earthquake must go to the United States. For the citizens of the belligerent countries war loans will become taxes; the State will become the business partner, who pockets one-half of all profits. Monopolies, limitation of industry and commerce, official supervision, estimates of the demand, house high dikes shutting off the offered supply of goods—does private business pay any longer or is the hour heralded in the communists' manifesto approaching?

The longer the war and the destruction of values last the denser are the clouds that darken the hope that the victor will receive an indemnity.

The nation which paid the cost of two years of war of two great Powers would become a swarm of beggars, a pustule of Europe.

Does not, after a long war, the cleavage between hastily accumulated gold and naked misery become even deeper and wider than in the days when the order of the world did not yet seem disturbed?

In your lower house it was said that the event of this war would have effects similar to those of the fall of the Roman empire, of the spreading conquests of Islam, of the Reformation, of the pronouncement in France of human rights, including everything that happened later, under Robespierre, to the Directory, to Bonaparte. If they are after your soul, if

salvation can come only through the "success of the grand offensive," the which would shatter all German lines in Belgium and in France and drive our troops like cranes flies across the Rhine.

That is as "probable" as another miracle, England, with unrestrained sea mastery and ancient wealth, can hold out long? Perhaps, but she is, even today, in no part of the globe, before to dominion, what she was in the century from Trafalgar to Antwerp.

And she must ask herself at sunrise whether she could wait until despairing humanity cries up to her: "We are bleeding away and your check has scarcely paid from the loss of blood!"

Then you, Mr. Lloyd George, will be the accused, not the attorney; then you must plead in your own cause and give an accounting how you have ruled and reigned, how you have earned the tremendous confidence placed in you.

Mazzini once wrote that a war which is not conducted in defence of a great truth or for the unmasking of a great lie is the greatest of all crimes. Your war is to unmask and bury the lie that might is right? That lie has never lived within the German Empire. A lie is, however, the fairy tale that Germany would break up her enemies like dead deer (neither Frederick the Great nor Bismarck ever did so) and wished it, and, if the lie should not be carried home tomorrow, would arm the day after for a new marauding expedition.

A lie is the permanent speech drilled in on all fronts and in all capitals which is to deceive those who sever that this Germany must be banned from the future Europe.

Never will this Germany beg peace. But gladly will she greet the morning which will relieve her of her terrible task and allow the return to quiet, creative labor and usher in the beginning of free and peaceful community life.

Germany's people covet only what is their due, according to their own measure; and the German people's will is to be more important in the future than it has been in the past.

# Has New York Presbytery Kept Faith of Fathers?

Controversy Over Union Seminary Graduates One of Most Important Matters Before General Assembly

## THE NEW YORK PRESBYTERY'S POSITION.

By THE REV. DR. HARLAN G. MENDENHALL, Moderator of the New York Presbytery.

In view of the criticisms made in various directions of the action of the Presbytery of New York in licensing as ministers of the Presbyterian Church three graduates of the Union Theological Seminary, the facts in the case should be publicly stated.

The young men did affirm their belief in the incarnation of Jesus of Nazareth, the resurrection of Christ and in the doctrine of the virgin birth.

It is true that they did not affirm the historical fact of the latter, but they did not deny it. They, moreover, affirmed their belief in the redemptive power of Jesus Christ in that by his vicarious suffering and the shedding of his blood God both gave an example of His love and satisfied the requirements of divine justice. They also affirmed that they believed the Scriptures to be the word of God and that the Gospel of Christ is the need of the world.

The Presbytery took into account the known character and tried qualifications of the three candidates as Christian workers. The licensing of these young men had nothing to do with any controversy. They were considered as individuals and whether or not they had been graduated from the Union Theological Seminary was not at issue.

stood together on the general proposition of "critical scholarship."

Following the newspaper reports and the publication of the protest by Dr. Fox, there came from that citadel of conservatism the Presbytery of Cincinnati, which is situated at Lane Theological Seminary, which stands for the conservative element, the proposal that the New York Presbytery be banned.

"The Presbytery of New York," to quote the words of the overturing sent to the clerk of the General Assembly, "being guilty of deliberate and long continued disloyalty to the doctrinal standards of the Presbyterian Church and being persistently disobedient to the mandates of the General Assembly, the General Assembly is requested by the Presbytery of Cincinnati to take such steps as may be necessary to cut off from the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America the Presbytery of New York if no other methods will prevail."

To rescind the action of the General Assembly of 1915 approving and ratifying the report of its special committee on Union Theological Seminary which declares the Compact of 1870 between Union Theological Seminary and the General Assembly and the other theological seminaries of our Church null and void and to take such steps as may be necessary to cut off from the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America the Presbytery of New York if no other methods will prevail.

This agreement would probably have been unchallenged until this day were it not for the Briggs controversy, which stirred the whole theological world. The Rev. Dr. Charles Augustus Briggs, a Presbyterian, had for many years been professor of the Hebrew language and literature in the seminary. On his being transferred in 1891 to the chair of Biblical theology he delivered an address describing the latest developments of the higher criticism which was declared to be subversive of all belief in the inspiration and the authority of the Scriptures.

Charges of heresy were made against him and he was tried before the New York Presbytery and acquitted. A direct appeal to the General Assembly, without the intermediate step of presenting the matter to the Synod, the next higher body, brought a decision that Dr. Briggs must be tried. The General Assembly heard him at its sessions in Washington in 1893 and convicted him of heresy and directed that he be suspended from the ministry of the Presbyterian Church until he repented. Dr. Briggs in 1895 was received into the Episcopal Church and remained in that faith until his death in 1912.

While the Briggs controversy was at its height the seminary in 1892 signified its wish to free itself from the control of the Presbyterian Church. The General Assembly declined at first to be a party to any such arrangement. The relations between the two bodies were finally severed, although from time to time there have been efforts to have them restored. The faculty of the institution are many prominent Presbyterian clergymen.

A decision was made in 1915 at Atlantic City that the Compact of 1870 was null and void, which is interpreted to mean that from the first the seminary did not owe its existence to the Presbyterian Church, and hence its funds were its own. The General Assembly had also adopted a resolution to the effect that Presbyteries should receive no candidates for the ministry from seminaries whose teachings were considered as being in accordance with the Westminster Confession.

The New York Presbytery in April of this year, after an examination, licensed three young graduates of Union as ministers, although the licentiates did not profess to believe in the virgin birth, nor did they affirm positively their belief in the virgin birth, nor did they deny it. It is said that they did declare that they accepted the resurrection of Christ and the coming of Jesus Christ to His disciples and that they also declared that they felt sure that Lazarus was raised from the dead.

The movement against Union has been increasing of late years, especially in the Western Presbyteries. The first brand in the present controversy was applied by the Rev. Dr. John Fox of this city, one of the three members of the New York Presbytery who voted against the sixty-four who favored the admission of the three candidates. He opened first in one of the Church papers, the *Presbyterian*.

The action of war has sounded once again in New York. The Union Seminary, with its allies old and new, has moved in force on the Presbytery of New York, and after reducing that sacred pact which binds the churches together—the Confession of Faith—to a scrap of paper and spinning the solemn injunctions of the General Assembly has dragged the Presbytery into a U-turn at its heels.

"The U-boats of unbelief, to vary the figure, have fired another torpedo at the Bible, blown the very bottom out of the Book of Exodus, the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Gospel of St. Luke, leaving the hapless men and women and children of the churches to take to boats, rafts and wreckage, as they struggle on the tossing ocean of doubt and negation."

"Dropping the figures: Three more candidates from the Union Seminary were licensed at the April meeting to preach after they had acknowledged serious doubts, so serious that they could not preach or teach the virgin birth of Christ, the raising of Lazarus, the resurrection of the body of Christ, the signs and wonders of Exodus, the pillar of cloud and fire, the manna, the tabernacle, the miracles on Mount Sinai. The three did not say all these things, but each contributed his share to the total and

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On the committee on licensure which passed upon the qualifications of the three men are three representatives of the Union of fifteen: The Rev. Dr. William P. Merrill, C. P. Fagnani and A. H. Limouze. The clerical delegates to the General Assembly, known as commissioners, are the Rev. Dr. Edgar Whitaker Work, pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian and formerly moderator of the Presbytery, the Rev. Dr. Edward J. Russell, the Rev. Dr. Limouze, the Rev. Dr. Charles W. Welch, the Rev. Dr. Charles A. Stoddard, the Rev. Robert Watson and the Rev. Dr. Edward M. Deems. The lay commissioners who are elders also are Joseph Moorhead, John A. Deems, James D. Andrews, William H. Coffin, William B. Bennett, John T. Stanley, George Hannah and James L. H. yes.



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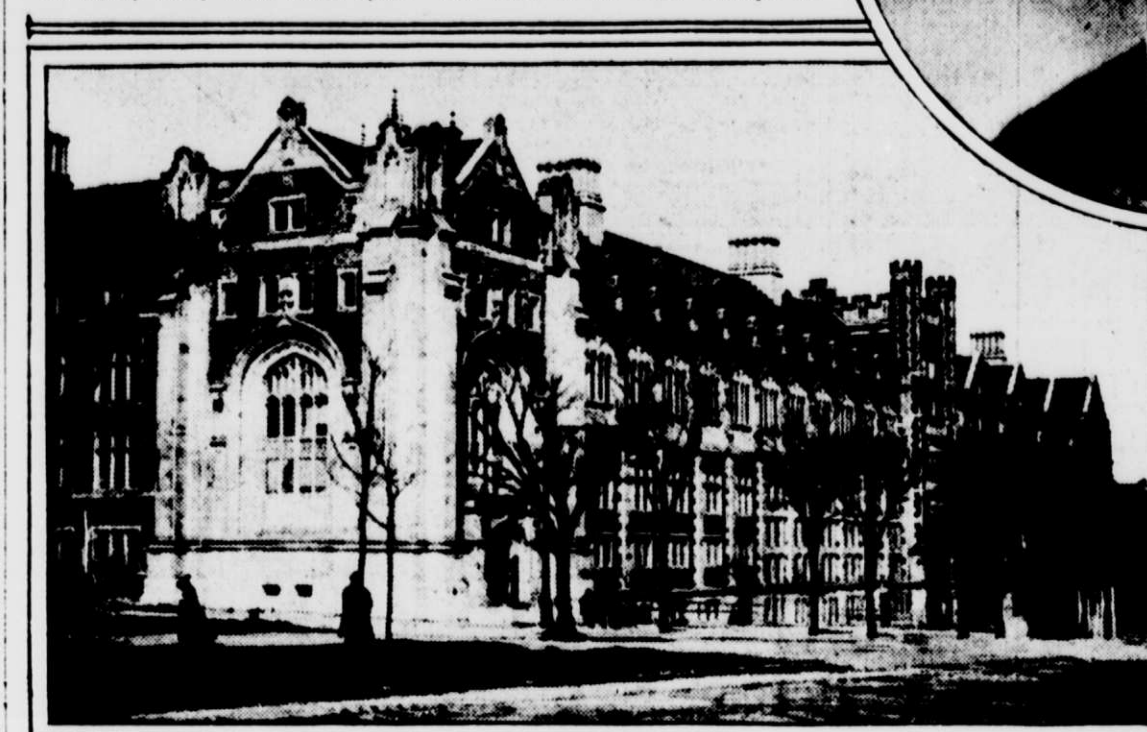
by the fact that no sooner was the decision of the Presbytery made with regard to the qualifications of the licentiates than an attack was launched by one of its own members which went the rounds of the press and seems to have inspired the action of the Presbytery of Cincinnati in addressing an overturing to the General Assembly, the highest tribunal in the Church, asking that the New York Presbytery be cut off from the other churches of the faith. Such action by the General Assembly would expel from the communion of Calvin the sixty churches of this metropolitan district, including such well known bodies as the Old First Church, in which the Presbytery meets; the Fifth Avenue Church, the wealthiest congregation in the faith and the largest contributor to the missionary boards, and others of equal prominence.

It is necessary to go back over the track of history to understand the present situation in all its bearings.

The Union Theological Seminary in the city of New York was founded in 1825 at a meeting of a small group of Presbyterian ministers and elders held in this city at the home of Knowles Taylor. It was formally opened for the instruction of students in December of the following year. Its founders were regarded as belonging to an advanced element. They formed part of the New School branch, closely allied to the Congregationalism of New England. From the very beginning the seminary showed an inclination to be independent of ecclesiastical control, and this tendency was typified when in 1840 its name was changed to Union. Its first quarters were in a small building at 9 University place.

The charter provided that "equal privileges of admission and instruction shall be allowed to students of every denomination of Christians." In the preamble of the constitution of the seminary are the significant words: "Finally it is the design of the founders to provide a theological seminary in the midst of the greatest and most growing community in America around which all men of moderate views and feelings, who desire to live free from party strife and to stand aloof from the extremes of doctrinal speculation, practical radicalism and ecclesiastical domination, may cordially and affectionately rally."

Union soon won the support and interest of prominent and wealthy laymen of the Presbyterian Church and in 1854 it moved to a fine group



Union Theological Seminary.

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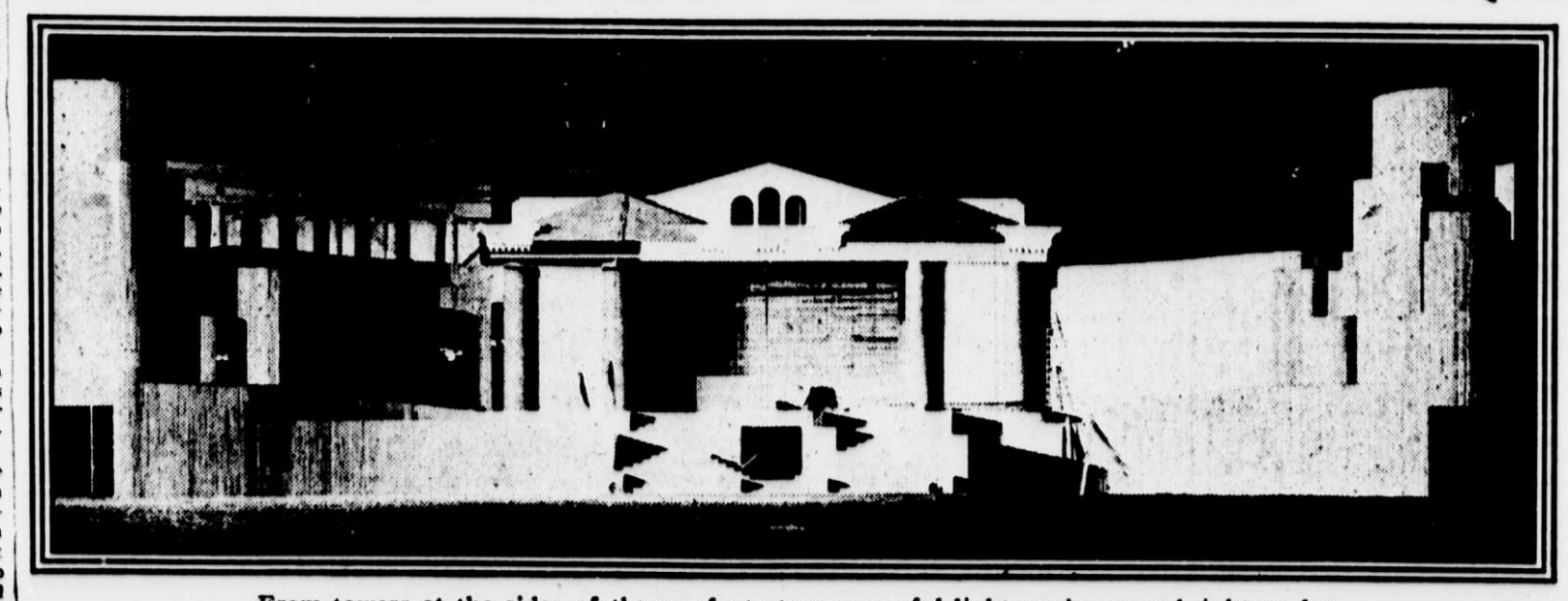
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